1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.

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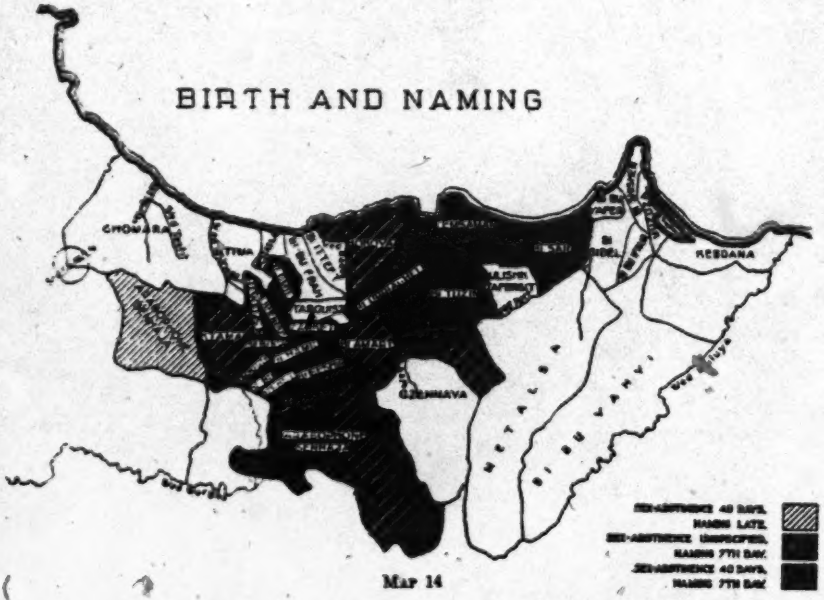

MAP 14

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Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

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Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekau*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

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This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

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1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

case the child is masculine, having begun the fusillade at the moment of the delivery, or at the moment when the sex of the child was announced.

The women who come with their husbands bring with them chickens and other articles of food, especially wild greens such as watercress and asparagus, if these be in season. The women install themselves in the room in which the birth has taken place, and prepare nourishing broths for the mother, and for the next week or so continually come in and out looking after her.

On the seventh day the father holds a second celebration, similar to the first, which may be in many cases simply a continuation of it. On this seventh day, the guests, when they have finished drinking tea, each put a silver dollar on the tray; this money is intended as a present to the mother, who may spend it as she pleases.

Among the central Riffians the father is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until after the expiration of forty days after the birth of the child. During these forty days he avoids her as much as possible, seldom entering the room in which she has borne the child and seldom speaking with her. From economic necessity it is unavoidable that he should see and speak to her to a certain extent, but the tabu is nevertheless kept as rigidly as possible. Among the other tribes there is no fixed limit for the renewal of sexual relations, the matter being entirely personal, and there is no attempt at avoidance subsequent to the actual day of the birth, although the husband in most instances is kept busy outside entertaining the men for the first seven days, and naturally hesitates to enter his wife's room when a large number of women are there. The sex tabu is found in Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Iherrushen (except Tarosht, Telmest) Ikhuanen, Iherrassen, Beni Yunes, northern Ulishk, Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghzuth, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Hamid, and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

NAMES AND NAMING

The second important event in the life of a child, be it a boy or a girl, is the occasion when it receives a name. Among the central Riffians this takes place on the seventh day, the same day on which the final feast celebrating the birth is held. Among the other tribes it takes place later, but usually before the child is more than a month or two old. Naming is done on the seventh day in[1] Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, northern Ulishk, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Beni Mohammed, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Inhanahan, Bured, Temjunt, Iherrusben, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Bokoya, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and western Metalsa.

A boy child is at this time given a name usually of Arabic derivation and of religious significance, although such is not always the case. The name is frequently a derivative of the root *hmd*, meaning "to praise," of which Mohend, Moh, Bohosh, Haddu, Haddush, Hammush, Mohammadi, Hamidu, Hadi, and Omuah are all more or less Berberized variations. Of these, Mohend and Moh are the equivalents for Mohammed.

[1] According to de Castro, the Galiya and Kebdana likewise hold the naming on the seventh day. This information would serve to date the transition from a seven-day to a three-day custom between the time of de Castro's writing (1911) and the time at which my material was collected. See Fernandez de Castro, *Guelaia y Quebdana*, p. 130.

844 [372] Among the Ait Waryager, before a woman gives birth to a child, the fqi of the village writes something from the Koran in a bowl, and water is poured over the writing and then given to the woman to drink. This is likewise supposed to facilitate the delivery.

[373] Among the Ait Waryager the after-birth (adan) and navel-string (dmit) are buried at the bottom of the dunghill of the house to prevent their being walked over.

[376] Among the Ait Waryager the mother is [377] immediately on her delivery given a dish of eggs and butter or oil to partake of, and after that the gravy of a fowl. Pieces of thin cakes, eggs, and butter are mixed together in an earthenware pot (dahabbit), which is placed on the head of a boy—a brother of the newborn child if there is one, otherwise a neighbour's son. The other children of the house and the women who are present eat from this pot on the boy's head; I was told that should they not do so something bad would happen to the child.

[378] Among the Ait Waryager, when a boy is born, the father puts into his right hand a knife (dahadmit) to make him a man, and when a girl is born he puts into her right hand a foot of a fowl to make her a good housewife; but the knife may also be a charm against the jnun.

[380] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the room of the lying-in woman is likewise fumigated with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels, who are consequently induced to remain there.

[384] The Ait Waryager have the custom of smearing henna on the top of the child's head on the day after its birth, "to make the head strong".

[387] In some places the child is referred to as the son or daughter of its father (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Amanuz and other people of Sus), and in other places as the son or daughter of its mother.

346 852 553 [391] Among the Ait Waryager the mother generally gets up on the third day, but keeps to the house till the seventh day, when she washes, fumigates herself with benzoin, and paints her hands and feet with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her teeth with walnut root. She also combs and oils her hair, puts a long silk scarf (rahzam) round her head, and dresses herself in her best clothes. On this day there is the ceremony of name-giving. The father kills a sheep or a

goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

[401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)—which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[404] Among the Ait Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
553 tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
585 the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
844 sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
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The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
602 may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
782 (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
556 While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
574 bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.
However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
not uncommon among those who can afford it.

553 Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
574 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
602 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
114 On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
553 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
574 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
602 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
431 but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 574 602 431 [578] cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this ceremony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 782 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 574 621 On the evening of this day, an open invita is extended to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the

553 556 574 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, however, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

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553 is, however, only a descriptive prelude to the much more elaborate presentations which occur in relation to nuptial ceremonies.

585 114 The marriage ceremony is probably the most socially significant public ceremony which takes place in the Rif. The spectacle and complexity of Berber marriage have prompted numerous studies, of which Westermarck (1914) is the most complete and Maunier (1927) the most useful. A rather detailed description of the ceremony among the Beni Iznassen, a tribe neighboring the Rif, is given by Renisio (1932). Accounts for the Rif proper are given by Coon (1931) and Hart (1956). My own description is not at odds with any of the above but the point of view differs from all except possibly Maunier.

585 The marriage process can be broken into three separate divisions of time and into the associated ceremonies and rituals [584] which accompany these three periods. The first period, which takes place prior to the wedding, is one in which the preliminary negotiations take place between the parents of the prospective couple. The second division is the actual wedding festival itself, which takes place over a two or three-day period. The final division is the ceremony held on the seventh day after the marriage. I shall discuss each of these periods in terms of the strategy of bargaining, the expenses entailed by social and religious imperatives, and the function of gift and countergift.

584 In the initial period negotiations are conducted between the male relatives on both sides, the most prominent participants being the fathers of the prospective bride and groom or, if they

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

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